

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad



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**IIUM  
Press**

Gombak • 2017

First Print, 2017  
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(Malaysian Scholarly Publishing Council)

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Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Islam in the Malay World: Al-Falimbāñī's Scholarship /

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad.

Includes index

Bibliography: page 307

ISBN 978-967-418-430-8

1. Falimbani, Abdus-Samad,--b. 1700.

2. Islam--History--Malay Archipelago. 3. Sufism--History.

4. Muslim scholars.

1. Mohammed Hussain Ahmad.

297.709598

*Published by*

IIUM Press

International Islamic University Malaysia

P.O. Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Tel: +603-6196 5014; Fax: +603-6196 4862/6298

*Printed in Malaysia by*



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin  
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),  
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*





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## Epilogue

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This book has highlighted the position of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī in the nexus of 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century Muslim religious scholarship, and by implication, his crucial role in shaping the intellectual development of the Malay people and their culture of Islamic learning. The preceding chapters discuss aspects of al-Falimbānī's life and scholarship in his historical and cultural context. Here I attempt to highlight important findings and major contributions of this study.

Starting with the introduction, the study demonstrated the importance of two genres of primary Arabic sources for the eighteenth century Islamic scholarship of which al-Falimbānī was a student and teacher: biographical dictionaries and writings on *isnād* and *ijāzah*. It also shows that consulting the writings on *isnāds* can help us to understand better the teacher-student connections in the scholarly networks of the period under study as well as their connection to earlier and later scholars.

By reviewing the sources and contemporary studies relevant to 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī and his wider intellectual context, this research has shown that contemporary studies offer only limited information and less critical analysis on al-Falimbānī. With some later scholars accepting or compounding earlier errors, I have highlighted numerous sources so far unutilised or under-utilised and have attempted to reconstruct a more accurate biographical account of al-Falimbānī and his scholarly contacts bringing in new information and details based on fresh evidence extracted from these works. It should be emphasized that most of these sources, including al-Falimbānī's own writings as well as other Arabic and Malay writings by his contemporaries and later generations, had not been included in previous studies.

In constructing a biographical outline of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī's scholarly life, based on fresh evidence, I hope that this study has successfully resolved a number of issues and details related to the life of al-Falimbānī. These include the obscurity of al-Falimbānī's pedigree and inconsistencies about his dates of birth and death, his offspring and travels. The fresh evidence extracted from primary sources, which

include mainly unpublished manuscripts and biographical reports by his contemporaries, has helped us to eliminate a number of erroneous conclusions from previous studies. The discussion of his travels also helped us to chart his movements in the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world, further supporting the evidence of his significant scholarship and scholarly contacts in different centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world. By attempting to shed light on his character and distinctive personality as a scholar and *Sūfī*, this study has highlighted his revered position among his peers, pupils and contemporaries, both *Jāwīs* and Arabs.

'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī's teachers and students have turned out to be more numerous, and a number of them more prominent than hitherto assumed by earlier studies. Based on the domicile of his teachers, it has been possible not only to confirm, but also to go beyond Yāsīn al-Fādānī's reports that al-Falimbānī travelled to study in Yemen, Egypt and Syria in addition to his widely known sojourn in *al-Haramayn* (Mecca and Medina). From the study of his teachers, we can observe that although Muhammad as-Sammān was al-Falimbānī's most influential teacher, especially in his development as a *Sūfī* scholar, he had studied with several other scholars from different centres of Islamic learning covering specialities such as *hadīth*, Qur'ānic studies, theology, jurisprudence, grammar and other associated subjects. In other words, as-Sammān was his spiritual master while these others were his intellectual instructors.

Studying biographical notices on al-Falimbānī's teachers often reveals clues to solving his undated meetings with them and dates of his travels to and sojourns in various centres. For instance, we now know that al-Falimbānī studied with as-Sammān for five years between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772. However, by establishing that al-Falimbānī's travelled to Yemen as early as 1147/1734 and was present in Mecca before 1160/1747, a question can be asked as to why he did not study earlier with as-Sammān whom he venerated highly? To answer this, we look at as-Sammān's several biographical notices. He was affiliated to several renowned *fariqahs*, including al-Qādiriyyah, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-'Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah, but was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah Orders.

In fact, he was the founder of a branch of the latter Order, *al-ṭarīqah al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah*, which was named after him. Though none of as-Sammān's biographers tell us when he received the initiation into the Khalwatiyyah Order from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and became his *khalīfah*, it is clear that up to 1176/1762 he was initiating his disciples only to the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. This is evident from 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī who received membership in the latter Order from as-Sammān during his *hajj* in that year, indicating that he was not yet a proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Order at that time. Otherwise, he would have initiated al-'Aqīlī into this Order; especially since he was the founder of a branch of this *ṭarīqah*. Thus, this perhaps explains why al-Falimbānī did not travel to Medina to study with as-Sammān earlier as he had not attained his apex of *Ṣūfī* mastery. This further finds support in the fact that it was under the guidance of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and with persistent training and solitude, that as-Sammān attained the state of illumination (*kashf*) and became his *khalīfah*.

In terms of mystical outlook, the majority – if not all of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came in contact, and other scholars of his period – were directly or indirectly affiliated to several or at least one particular *Ṣūfī* Order. It has become clear in this research that, although these scholars were *muḥaddiths* or jurists (*fuqahā'*) or scholars of exegesis (*tafsīr*) in terms of their study of Islamic intellectual sciences, they were in most cases also proponents of the *Ṣūfī* *ṭarīqahs* to the extent that they initiated others to membership in their Orders. Furthermore, al-Falimbānī specifically attended the teachings of renowned scholars of his time who were specialists in *hadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'ānic exegesis, grammar, lexicography or rhetoric. Several of these scholars, such as Yahyā al-Ahdal, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makkī, Ibrāhīm ar-Rā'īs az-Zamzamī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, were *muftīs* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Yemen, Mecca or Medina. Some of his teachers such as Murtadā az-Zabīdī, Muḥammad al-Jawharī and 'Alī al-Wanā'ī were even his younger contemporaries who had attained eminence at an early stage of their career. It is important to point out that al-Falimbānī's adherence to the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence did not prevent him from attending teaching sessions of

Mālikī or Ḥanbalī or Ḥanafī scholars as demonstrated in his teachers' affiliations.

Al-Falimbānī's intellectual erudition becomes even more apparent in the study of biographical notices about his students. Not only had he attracted students of *Jāwī* origin, but also Arabs. Though, unfortunately, details of his individual Arab students are lacking, the account written by one of his closest Arab disciples in Yemen, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, clearly tells us that al-Falimbānī had a group of outstanding students (*ba'ḍ fuḍalā' at-ṭalabah*) attending his teaching sessions in Zabīd including this al-Ahdal who himself was a *mufīr*. It is clear from the short biographical notice on al-Falimbānī in al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that he was one of his highly esteemed shaykhs.<sup>1</sup> Thus looking at the connections *Jāwīs* had with Yemeni scholars, it is appropriate to say that Yemeni sources should constitute part of the essential reference to any study on the *Jāwī* scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This study demonstrates that the extent and range of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī's writings were much more substantial than existing contemporary studies would have us believe. This research has uncovered a total of twelve attributed writings to al-Falimbānī (instead of seven known so far) and has also questioned the attribution of two books and one which was inconclusive in status but can now be confirmed as the writing of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī.

Apart from solving the problem of attribution, this study has highlighted al-Falimbānī's scholarly contributions in various fields of learning and spirituality relating to the Malay socio-religious and intellectual milieu. I have shown that though contemporary scholars listed these writings, it is clear that they did not examine the texts thoroughly or not at all in some cases. For instance, I have demonstrated that his small epistle, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, has significant value as a source for charting the religious disagreement in the Malay Archipelago at that time concerning three distinct groups of those scholars from "the land below the wind" (*dibawah angin*) with whom al-Falimbānī disagreed. Furthermore, careful examination of his writings, such as *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, reveals that he was not just simply translating the works of al-Ghazālī. More importantly, he attempted to supplement them with his own additions and his reading in a wider range of other

sources. Al-Falimbānī deems these additions beneficial to those who do not understand Arabic, which certainly indicates his deep concern to educate the people of the Malay Archipelago. Otherwise, it would be unnecessary to translate any Arabic texts into Malay if they were solely intended for his *Jāwī* students in Mecca, as they would usually be quite capable of reading them without the translations.

Al-Falimbānī's deep concern regarding the mystical *Sūfī* teachings which had led astray some of the *Jāwīs* of the Malay Archipelago is also reflected in his selection of al-Ghazālī's writings. For instance, his list of *Sūfī* writings suitable for three levels of competence, presenting them to match different abilities, indicates that al-Falimbānī had reached his apex of *Sūfī* training and at the same time indirectly tells *Jāwī* learners which of these writings were to be read and which were to be reserved only for the adept (*muntahī*). Furthermore, if he had wished, al-Falimbānī could have easily translated any of the advanced *Sūfī* texts, but instead he selected two basic books of al-Ghazālī, the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and the Abridgement of (*Lubāh* or *Mukhtaṣar*) *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* to cater for the novice. In fact, al-Falimbānī himself demonstrated that he had attained the *Sūfī* mastery as he composed his *Zād al-Mutaqqīn*, a treatise in the most advanced category of mystical teaching, dealing with complex question of Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*).

This research has also demonstrated that the newly identified writings of al-Falimbānī, include two epistles written specifically on *fiqh*; an epistle on the law of marriage and another on the exposition of legal rulings, in addition to diverse questions on jurisprudence (*masā'il fiqhīyyah*) in his other writings. Thus it is evident that despite being chiefly known as a *Sūfī* scholar on the basis of his acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn* and his affiliation with the Sammāniyyah *tariqah*, he was also a competent scholar of jurisprudence (*faqīh*).

Among the *Jāwī* scholars of his time, al-Falimbānī was one of those who not only had deep concern for the intellectual life of the Malay people, but also for the political situation of the Malay region. This can be confirmed from the two letters which he sent from Mecca to two Javanese princes reminding them of the merits of *jihād* and from two other epistles written on issues pertaining to *jihād*. This shows that al-Falimbānī was a scholar who was deeply concerned for his people

and homeland and was definitely not a hermit who isolated himself from his community.

Critical assessment of all al-Falimbānī's known writings has further added to our knowledge about his life, scholarship and his writings and teaching career and highlighted his contribution and role in the eighteenth century scholarly nexus. In addition, this study has now made it possible to chronologically list all of his writings.

It is important to highlight that this study – to my knowledge – is the first to have comprehensively utilised the widest possible range of sources available, including manuscripts, *Jāwī* books, Arabic biographical dictionaries and other relevant works. Utilising all these sources and materials has helped us place al-Falimbānī at the centre of the nexus of eighteenth century Muslim scholarship in the Arab and Malay worlds. In fact, looking at his intellectual scholarship, his distinguished career and the revered position he enjoyed in Mecca and Zabīd, al-Falimbānī was perhaps the most prominent among the *Jāwīs* who had achieved this status. It is hoped that this study will pave the way for further research on other *Jāwī* scholars from this period as well as from other generations.

## Endnote

<sup>1</sup> See appendix 1.

## Appendix 1

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### New Translation of al-Falimbānī's Biographical Notice

[Biography of Shaykh al-'Allāmah 'Abd aş-Şamad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāwī *Rahimahu Allāh* (God's Mercy be upon him)]

And among [the '*ulamā'* of this generation] is our shaykh, the great scholar (*al-'allāmah*), the saint (*al-walī*), the deeply understanding (*al-fahhāmah*), the pious (*at-taqī*) notable of Islam (*wajih al-Islām*), 'Abd aş-Şamad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāwī (God's Mercy be upon him). He arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.

The above-mentioned [shaykh] was among those who applied their knowledge to their life (*al-'ulamā' al-'āmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every branch of the Islamic sciences (*al-muntafi'īn fī sā'ir al-'ulūm*). He studied with the scholars of his period, from among the people of *al-Haramayn* such as ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah 'Aṭā' [Allāh] al-Miṣrī, ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad al-Jawhārī, and ash-Shaykh al-'Allāmah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and others. He then turned towards Ṣūfīsm and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching [al-Ghazālī's] *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. He began to enjoin people to occupy themselves with this book, glorify its significant and frequently highlights its virtues and benefits, [explaining that] the least of these benefits to those who occupy themselves with it and follow its teaching being that they discover their own faults, shortcomings and limitations. This would be a protection from conceit with the guidance of God Almighty.

Oh Lord, a servant's fault may be concealed  
Veil with Your forbearance what emerges from his fault  
He has come to You with no intercessor for his sins  
So accept intercession for him now in his old age.

A group of scholars have preceded in giving commandment to peruse the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, and a certain Maghribī scholar has even composed a book filled with the virtues of the above mentioned work.

It is also related that there was one who occupied himself with this work perused a book entitled *Tanbīh al-Aḥyā' 'alā Aghālī al-Iḥyā'* (Warning the Living About the Errors of the *Iḥyā'*) and turned towards studying it and by the time he completed he lost his sight. He wept profusely and prayed to God Almighty, and knew what had brought this [calamity] upon him. He then turned towards God Almighty in repentance, and God restored his sight. Shaykh Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥadrāmī said: "the *Iḥyā'* is a cure against the poisons of heedlessness; it awakens the exoteric '*ulamā'* and broadens the knowledge of the firmly established scholars."

When our above mentioned shaykh [al-Falimbānī] arrived in Zabīd, he continued to consistently urge [people] towards studying the above mentioned book. I read with him, praise be to God, from the beginning of each quarter of the book and asked him for an *ijāzah* to relate what is allowed to transmit and that is beneficial to know. He granted me a lengthy *ijāzah* which he wrote for me in his own noble handwriting. His method was that when a student came to him, he would ask him at length about his circumstances and once he realized that the student was consistent in a good trait, he would lengthen his praise on that trait, and he would expound on its rules and morals to increase the student adherence to it and ensure that he would be well informed with sufficient insight.

When I came to meet him, he always specified the ethics and manners of giving legal opinion (*fatwā*) and that a *muftī* ought to not be confined merely to the question being asked as this is not sufficient. For if he has knowledge of the situation [surrounding the questions] he must take it into consideration in his answer, as this has within it religious benefits that are known to the practitioner in this field.

[Our Shaykh] may God grant him mercy, did not see any value in this world, and his magnanimity and generosity are regarded as a wonder of wonders. One of his praiseworthy students [once] asked him for a book to get the blessing of it, [our Shaykh] admitted him to his private library and said, "with pleasure, please take from it whatever you like"

## Appendix 1

and he insisted on him to do so and the student took a number of precious books of great value.

This reminds me [the author] of something that Ibn al-Qayyim said in his *Sharḥ Manāzil as-Sā'irīn*, that Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah often said, "I have nothing, nothing comes from me, and with me is nothing," and he often recited these lines of poetry:

I am a mendicant and the father of mendicants,  
And like this were my father and grandfather.

Another poet Ibn ar-Rūmī (may God's Mercy be upon him) said:

The generous say nothing to mention their giving on the day that they give,  
Had they mentioned it they would not contend.  
Many are those one miserly though rich,  
While others give even if they be in debt.

This is the way of the spiritual elite, as for the majority, they are the opposite, as the poet said:

Be careful with your silver and gold coins  
And you will avoid poverty and debt  
The strength of the eye is in its pupil  
And the strength of human beings is in owing gold.

[Our] above mentioned [shaykh] took the path of [*Šūfi*] *dhikr* from his shaykh, the great saint Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madānī. He was a close disciple of him for a considerable time and took the *tariqah* from him, as the latter had taken it from the famous Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. As-Sammān and al-Hifnāwī both had the same shaykh and their way is to pronounce the *dhikr* aloud and to have a gathering for its recitation.

It is clear that pronouncing the *dhikr* aloud is neither forbidden nor discouraged, as its detractors would have it. For a group of scholars including al-Jalāl as-Suyūtī and al-'Allāmah al-Kattānī have written at length about this. So has Shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī who wrote a great treatise on the evidence for recitation aloud (*jahr*),<sup>1</sup> in which he says among other things:

Guidance and reminder.

"If you say that God says, "*call on your Lord humbly and secretly. He certainly does not like the aggressors*" (Qur'ān 7: 55), and if the word *al-i'tidā'* (exceeding) is interpreted in the sense of pronouncing aloud in supplication, as related by Ibn Abī Ḥātim who related it from Zayd b. Aslam, then *al-jahr* is discouraged. However, I say the word *at-taḍarru'* (supplication) in this verse has also been interpreted to mean 'overtness' and *al-khufyah* [has been interpreted as] 'secretly' as related by Abū ash-Shaykh from Qatādah. If we interpret '*al-i'tidā' fi 'd-du'ā'*' (exceeding during prayer) as *jahr* (pronouncing aloud) then what is intended is raising one's voice more than what is necessary and not mere *jahr* or pronouncing, hence applying the evidence altogether. This is what al-Ḥāfiẓ [Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī] interprets in his *al-Fatḥ* when he explains that '*al-I'tidā' fi 'd-du'ā'* lies in the increase of one's voice louder than what is necessary."

Shaykh Ibrāhīm continues to say:

"And this is clearly indicated in the *hadīth* of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, as reported in the two sound collections (*as-sahīhayn*) and elsewhere, and the exact texts is of al-Bukhārī in [the chapter on] *jihād*. [Abū Mūsā] said: we were with the Prophet SAW and whenever we approached a valley we would utter the *tahlīl* (acclamation of there is no deity worthy of worship but God) and *takbīr* (exclaiming God is great), raising our voices, and the Prophet SAW would said, "Oh people, stay your voices" ... to the end of the *hadīth*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ says that "*irba'ū* has the meaning of raising one's voice but without straining." This concludes the quotation [from al-Ḥāfiẓ]. The Prophet SAW exhorted them for moderation to abandon the practice of extreme shouting, but not to abandon *jahr* (pronouncing) totally, hence applying the evidence altogether. Therefore it is clear that what is meant by *jahr* from the verse "*And remember your Lord within yourself, in humility and awe and without raising your voice*" (Qur'ān 7: 206) is intense shouting and not mere pronouncing, thus combining the verse and the sound *hadīths* that indicate the legality of *jahr* in the recitation of *dhikr* and its recommendation ... etc ..."

Furthermore, Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān was one of the great scholars who had written many works, mostly on Ṣūfism. Some of his students wrote a detailed monograph devoted to his biography in which he relates that the Gnostic (*al-‘ārif*) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha‘rānī have mentioned him among the future saints and quoted his statement. Concerning this work of ash-Sha‘rānī, my teacher and master al-‘Allāmah ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī told me that he came upon it in Mecca and examined it, finding in it a number of later saints after ash-Sha‘rānī’s time from among the people of Yemen and others who are written about in this book. [Al-Jarhazī] said: “it was an astonishing coincidence that when I finished examining this book, I went out to perform the *fawāf* (circumambulation round the Ka‘bah) and I saw a man fitting the description of a man written about by ash-Sha‘rānī whose name was ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. When we finished from the *fawāf*, I greeted him and respectfully asked him his name. He responded: ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. I asked him about himself and I found everything he said to be exactly as ash-Sha‘rānī had mentioned in his book without the slightest difference; and I said to myself, “Praise be to God, The Opener and The Granter.” The Gnostic of God (*al-‘ārif bi-Allāh*) Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī also wrote a similar treatise which he called *al-Lu‘lu’ al-Maknūn fī ‘sh-Shawāhid as-Sam‘iyah alā l-Ikhbār bimā Sayakūn* (The Hidden Pearls on Narrated Evidence for Telling about what will be).

Shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān’s teachers, other than the great Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, include Shaykh Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq, Sayyid ‘Ali al-‘Aṭṭār, Shaykh ‘Ali al-Kurdī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭawī who settled in Mecca, and Shaykh Sa‘īd Hilāl al-Makkī, all of them having their *isnāds* extending back to an-Nakhlī and al-Baṣrī.<sup>2</sup>

The following is the original Arabic text of al-Falimbānī’s biographical data written by his close follower.

[ترجمة الشيخ العلامة عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمة الله]:

ومنهم شيخنا العلامة الولي الفهامة التقى وجيه الإسلام عبد الصمد بن عبد الرحمن الجاوي رحمة الله، وقد وفد إلى مدينة (زيد) سنة ألف ومائتين وست، كان المذكور من العلماء العاملين ومن المتفقين في مسائل العلوم، أخذ عن عدّة من علماء عصره من أهل

الحرمين الشريفين كالشيخ العلامة إبراهيم الرئيس، والشيخ العلامة محمد مرداد، والشيخ العلامة عطاء المصري، والشيخ العلامة محمد الجوهري، والشيخ العلامة محمد بن سليمان الكردي، وغيرهم، ثم أقبل على التصوف، وكان جل اشتغاله من كتبه بإحياء علوم الدين درساً وتدريساً، وصار يدعو الناس إلى الاستغلال به ويعظم شأنه ويكثر من ذكر فضائله وفوائده، وإن من أقلها أن ينكشف للمشتغل به والمقبل عليه عيوب نفسه ونقصها وتقصيرها، ويكون ذلك بعد توفيق الله عز وجل عاصماً له عن الغرور.

يا رب إن العبد يخفي عييه      فاستر بخلعك ما بدا من عييه  
ولقد أتاك وما له من شافع      لذنبه فاقبل شفاعة شبيه

ولقد سبق بالوحصية بمحطات إحياء علوم الدين جماعة من أهل العلم حتى أن بعض علماء المغاربة ألف كتاباً حافلاً في فضائل الكتاب المذكور.

وما يمكن أن رجلاً من المشتعلين به اطلع على كتاب (تبني الأحياء على أغاليط الأحياء) فأقبل على مطالعته فما أمه إلا وقد ذهب بصره، فأكثر من البكاء والتضرع إلى الله عز وجل وعرف من أين أتى، فتاتب إلى الله عز وجل فرد الله عليه بصره. قال الشيخ حسين بن عبد الله الحضرمي (إحياء علوم الدين) يداوي من سعوم الغفلة، ويوقظ علماء الظاهر ويوسع للعلماء الراسخين عليهم.

ولما وصل المذكور إلى زبيد، ما زال يكتن من الحث على الإقبال على الكتاب المذكور، وقد قرأت عليه والله الحمد من أوائل كل ربع منه، وطلبت منه الإجازة فيه وفيما تجوز روايته وتتفق درايته، فأجازني وكتب لي بخطه الشريف إجازة مطلولة، وكان من طريقته إذا وصل إليه الطالب، يسأله عن تفصيل حاله، فإذا عرف ملازمته لخصلة خير، أطال المقال في مدحها وشرح له من أحكامها وأداتها ليزيداد ملازمتها، ويكون على بصرة من أمره.

ولما وصلت إليه لم ينزل يقرر لي آداب الفتوى، وأن المفتى ينبغي له أن لا يقتصر على مجرد السؤال، بل إذا كان له إمام بالواقعة لاحظها في جوابه، فإن في ضمن ذلك مصالح دينية يعرفها الممارس في هذا الشأن، وكان رحمة الله لا يرى للدنيا قدرأً، اتصف من سماحة نفسه وبذل ما أمكن له بذلك بالعجب العجاب، فلقد سأله بعض فضلاء الطلبة

كتاباً يترك به، فادخله إلى غرفة كتبه وقال: خذ منها من طيبة نفسى ما شئت وألزمه بذلك، فأخذ عدة كتب نفيسة ذات أثمان غالبة.

ولقد أذكرني هذا ما ذكره ابن القيم في (شرح منازل السائرين) قال: كان شيخ الإسلام ابن تيمية كثيراً ما يقول: مالي شيء ولا مين شيء ولا عندي شيء، وكان كثيراً يتمثل بهذا البيت:

أنا المكدي وأبو المكدي  
وهكذا كان أبي وحدي  
غيره وهو ابن الرومي رحمه الله،

النعمون وما متوا على أحد  
يوم العطاء ولو متوا لما عانوا  
كم ضن بالمال أقوام وعندهم وفر ومعطي العطايا وهو يدان

فهذه طريقة الخواص، وأما الجمهور فيخالف ذلك، قال الشاعر:

اشتق على الدرهم والعين  
تسلم من العيلة والدين  
فقوة العين بإنساحها  
وقوة الإنسان بالعين

أحد المذكور طريقة الذكر عن شيخه الولي الكبير محمد بن عبد الكريم السنان المدني، فإنه لازمه كثيراً وأخذ عنه الطريقة كما أخذها عن الشيخ الشهير مصطفى البكري، فالسمان والخواصي شيخهما واحد، ومن طريقتهما الجهر بالذكر والاجتماع عليه.

وغير حاف أن الجهر بالذكر ليس بحرام ولا مكروه كما زعم زاعمون، وقد ألف في أدلة مشروعة الجهر بالذكر جماعة من العلماء، منهم الجلال السيوطي والعلامة الكتاني، وأطلا الكلام في ذلك، ومنهم الشيخ ملا إبراهيم الكوراني، فله في أدلة الجهر رسالة عظيمة، ومما ذكر فيها ما نصه:

بصيرة، فإن قلت قد قال تعالى: ﴿أَذْعُوا زِيَّمَ قَضَرَعَا وَخُفْيَةً إِنَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِلِينَ﴾ [الأعراف 55] فسر الاعتداء بالجهر بالدعاء، كما رواه ابن أبي حاتم عن زيد بن أسلم، فيكون الجهر مكروهاً. قلت قد فسر أيضاً التضرع في الآية بالعلانية والخفية بالسر كما رواه أبو الشيخ عن قتادة، فالاعتداء في الدعاء إذا فسر بالجهر يراد به رفع الصوت الزائد على قدر الحاجة لا

مطلق الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، وبذلك فسره الحافظ في الفتح حيث قال: الاعتداء في الدعاء يقع بزيادة الرفع فوق الحاجة.

إلى أن قال الشيخ إبراهيم المذكور: ويدل لذلك صريحاً حديث أبي موسى الأشعري رض في الصحيحين وغيرهما، واللفظ للبخاري، في الجهاد، قال: كنا مع رسول الله صل فكما إذا أشرفنا على واد هلتنا وكربنا، ارتفعت أصواتنا، فقال النبي صل: أيها الناس ارفعوا على أنفسكم ... الحديث. قال الحافظ أرבעوا همزة وصل مكسورة، ثم موحدة مفتحة، أي أرفعوا ولا يجهلو أنفسكم، انتهي. فإنه رض إنما أمرهم بالرفق، وهو إنما يقتضي ترك المفرط لا ترك أصل الجهر جمعاً بين الأدلة، ومنه يظهر أن المراد بالجهر في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَأَذْكُرْ رِئَكَ فِي تَفْلِكَ تَقْرِكَ وَجِيفَةَ وَذُونَ الْجَهْرِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْأَصَابَ وَلَا تَكُنْ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ﴾ [الأعراف: 205] أيضاً هو الصياغ البالغ لا مطلق الجهر جمعاً بينه وبين الأحاديث الصحيحة الدالة على مشروعية الجهر بالقول في الذكر واستحباه، إلى آخر كلامه.

هذا، والشيخ محمد السمان كان من أكابر العلماء، وله مؤلفات غالباً في علم التصوف، وقد أفرد بعض تلامذته ترجمته بموقف حافل ونقل فيها أن العارف عبد الوهاب الشعراي ترجمه في الأولياء الذين سبأتون بعده وساق عبارته، وهذا المؤلف للشاعراني ذكر لي سيدى العالمة عبد الله بن سليمان الجرهizi أنه وقف عليه مكة المشرفة وطالعه ووجد فيه عدة من الأولياء المتأخرین من بعد الشعراي من أهل اليمن وغيرهم ترجم لهم في هذا الكتاب. قال: ومن عجيب الاتفاق إن لما فرغت من مطالعته حررت للطواف فرأيت في المطاف رجالاً حلية حلية رجل ترجم له الشعراي، وقال إن اسمه عبد الغفار، فلما فرغنا من الطواف سلمت عليه وقلت له مولانا ما اسمك؟ قال: عبد الغفار، فتعرفت أحواله فإذا هي الأحوال التي ذكرها الشعراي<sup>4</sup> سواء بسواء، فسبحان الفاتح المانع. وقد ألف الشيخ العارف بالله عبد الغني النابلسي رسالة سماها (اللؤلؤ المكتون في الشواهد السمعية على الإثبات بما سيكون).

هذا، ومن مشايخ الشيخ محمد بن عبد الكريم السمان المذكور غير الشيخ الكبير مصطفى البكري جماعة، منهم الشيخ محمد الدقاد، والسبيد على العطار، والشيخ على الكردي، والشيخ عبد الوهاب الطنطاوي نزيل مكة المكرمة، والشيخ سعيد هلال المكي، وأسانيدهم تتصل بالسخلي والبصري.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> This text is entitled *al-Jawābāt al-Gharāwiyyah ‘an ‘l-Masā’il al-Jāwiyyah al-Jahriyyah*. See al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 35; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 10.
- <sup>2</sup> al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 138–43.
- <sup>3</sup> في الأصل: الزايد
- <sup>4</sup> في الأصل: الشعراوي

## Appendix 2

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Islamic scholarly texts that al-Falimbānī studied with his teachers extracted from al-Fādānī's *isnād* writings.

1. [Yahyā al-Ahdal] *Buhīgh al-Marām* and all the works of al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar.
2. ['Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī]: *Sahīḥ Bukhārī*, *Sahīḥ Muslim*, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Muatta' al-Imām Mālik*, *Musnad ash-Shāfi'i*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, *Musnad ad-Dārimī*, *Sunan ad-Dāraqutnī*, *al-Jāmi' as-Saghīr* (and all the works of as-Suyūṭī), *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' as-Saghīr* (and all the works of al-Manawī), *Sharḥ al-Arba'īn an-Nawawīyah* (and all the works of ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Riyāḍ as-Ṣāliḥīn* (and all the works of Ibn 'Alān), *ash-Shifā* (al-Qādī 'Iyād), *ash-Shamā'il Li 't-Tirmidhī*, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Lubāb at-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī at-Tanzīl* (al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī), *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aṣīm* (and all the works of Ibn Kathīr), *Madārik at-Tanzīl* (Abū al-Barakāt an-Nasafī and all of his works), *Anwār at-Tanzīl* (al-Bayḍāwī and all of his works), *al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (az-Zarkashī and all of his works), *at-Taqrīb wa 't-Taysīr* (an-Nawawī), *Nukhbāt al-Fikr wa-Sharḥuhā* (al-Hāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar), *al-Ibānah* (Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī and all of his works), *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* (al-Māturīdī and all of his works), *al-'Aqīdah aṭ-Tahāwiyyah* (aṭ-Tahāwī), *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafīyyah* (Sa'ad at-Taftāzānī and all of his works), *al-Masāyirah* (ibn Ḥimām and all of his works), *al-Masāmirah Sharḥ al-Masāyirah* (al-Kamāl Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf and all of his works), *Dafā' Shubhat at-Tashbih Bi-Akuṣ at-Tanzīl* (Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī and all of his works), *Ummu al-Barāhīn* (Muḥammad as-Sanūsī and all of his works), *ar-Risālah* (ash-Shāfi'i), *al-Luma'* (Abū Ishaq ash-Shirāzī), *al-Waraqāt* (Imām al-Haramayn and all of his works), *Minhāj al-Wuṣūl* (Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* ('Aḍid ad-Dīn ash-Shirāzī and all of his works), *Hāshiyah al-'Aḍid Li-Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib* (ash-Shāfi'i al-Jurjānī), *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* (Tāj ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī), *al-Umm* (ash-Shāfi'i),

*al-Mukhtaṣar* (Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘il al-Muznī), *al-Muhaddhab* (Abū Ishāq ash-Shirāzī and all of his works), *al-Wajīz* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works), *al-Faṭḥ al-‘Azīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz* (Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm ar-Rāfi‘ī and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū‘ Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Idāh* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *at-Tamhīd fī Takhrīj al-Furū‘ alā ‘l-Uṣūl* (al-Jamāl ‘Abd ar-Rahīm al-Asnawī), *Bahjat al-Ḥāwī* ('Umar ibn al-Wardī al-Bakrī), *ar-Rawḍ Wa ‘l-Iṛshād* (Ismā‘il al-Muqrī and all of his works), *Tulṣat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, *Ḥāshiat al-Idāh* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (ash-Shams Muḥammad ar-Ramlī), *at-Tahrīr*, *al-Manhaj*, *Sharḥumād*, *Sharḥ ar-Rawḍ wa ‘l-Bahjah* (Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī), *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah* 'Alā 'l-Manhaj al-Qawīm (Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and all of his works), *Ṣafwat az-Zubad* (ibn Raslān al-Maqdisī d. 849 and all of his works), *Sanad al-Fiqh ash-Shāfi‘ī*, *Talkīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Muhammad al-Qazwīnī), *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma‘ānī* 'Alā 't-Talkīṣ, *al-Muṭawwal* (Sa‘d ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī), *al-Āṭfāl Sharḥ at-Talkīṣ*, *Sharḥ al-Isti‘ārāt* (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arbīshāh), *Sharḥ ‘Uqūd al-Jumān* ('Abd ar-Rahmān al-Murshidī), *Kitāb Sibawayh* ('Amru b. ‘Uthmān), *al-‘Awā’il al-Mānah* (Abū Bakr al-Jurjānī), *Kitāb al-Mufassal* (Jār Allāh Maḥmūd az-Zamakhsharī), *al-Kāfiyah*, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah* (ibn al-Ḥājīb), *al-Fawā‘id ad-Diyā‘iyah Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah* ('Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāmī), *Ḥāshiyah as-Siyalkūtī* 'Alā al-Jāmī ('Abd al-Ḥakīm as-Siyalkūtī), *al-Khulāṣat al-Alfiyyah fī ‘Ilm al-‘Arabiyyah*, *Tashīl al-Fawā‘id* (ibn Mālik and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī* 'Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik, *Sharḥ at-Tawdīh* ('Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ashmūnī and all of his works), *Sharḥ al-Makūdī* 'Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik ('Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Alī al-Makūdī), *Tawdīh al-Maqāṣid Wa ‘l-Masālik* 'Alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik (Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Murādī), *Tawdīh Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, *Mughnī al-Labīb* 'An Kutub al-Ā‘arīb (al-Jamāl 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī), *at-Taṣrīh* 'Alā 't-Tawdīh (Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azharī), *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, *Ham‘ al-Hawāmi‘*, *al-Iqtirāh*, *al-Ashbāh Wa ‘n-Naṣā’ir* *an-Naḥwiyyah*, *al-Alghāz an-Naḥwiyyah* (as-Suyūtī), *Milḥat al-Iṛāb*, *Sharḥ Milḥat al-Iṛāb* (al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī), *al-Ajrūmīyyah* (ibn Ājrūm aş-Şanhājī), *Mutammimat al-Ajrūmīyyah* (Barakāt b.

Muhammad ar-Ru'aynī), *Sharḥ ash-Shawāhid* (al-Badr al-'Aynī), *ash-Shāfiyah* (ibn al-Hājib), *at-Tasrīf al-Mashhūr Bi 'l-'Azīz*, *Kitāb al-Hādī*, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Hādī fī 'Ilm aṣ-Ṣarf* ('Abd al-Wahhāb az-Zanjānī al-Khazrajī and all of his works), *Ṣīḥāḥ al-Jawhārī* (Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl al-Jawhārī), *al-Qāmūs* (al-Fayrūzabādī and all of his works), *Lisān al-'Arab* (Muhammad b. Abī al-'Izz al-Khazrajī), *az-Zahrī fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā'uḥā* (as-Suyūṭī), *an-Nihāyah fī Ghariṣ al-Ḥadīth* (ibn al-Athīr), *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah* (Muhyī ad-Dīn ibn 'Arabī), *at-Tadhkirah* (Muhammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī).

3. [Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*.
4. [Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī]: *Sunan aṣ-Ṣughrā Li 'n-Nasā'i*, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah* (Aḥmad al-Jārabardī).
5. ['Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Tabaqāt al-Hanābilah* (Muhammad al-Farrā' al-Baghdādī and all of his works).
6. [Saykh b. Zayn Bā-'Abūd]: *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, *Hāshiyah Sharḥ al-Jāmi' 'alā l-Kāfiyah* ('Iṣām ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Arbāshāh al-Isfirā'inī al-Makkī).
7. [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl]: *al-Arba'ūn*, *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn*, and all works of al-Imām Nawawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, and all works of al-Baghawī, *Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīthiyah wa-Sharḥuhā*, and all works of az-Zayn al-Ṭrāqī, *al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafiyah*, al-Āmidī's *al-Āḥkām*, *Muntahā al-Wuṣūl wa 'l-Amal* (Ibn Hājib and all of his works), *al-Farā'id al-Bahiyyah Manzūmiyat al-Qawā'id al-Fiqhiyyah* (Abū Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Ahdal and all of his works), *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muhaddhab*, *al-Īdāh* (an-Nawawī and all of his works), *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Ummu 'l-Qurā* (al-Muhibb Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭabarī and all of his works), *Mughnī al-Muhtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj* (Muhammad ash-Sharbīnī and all of his works), *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramiyyah* ('Abd Allāh bā Faḍl), *al-Manhaj al-Qawīm Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramiyyah* (ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī), *Sharḥ Ibn 'Aqīl 'alā Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik*, *al-Musā'id 'alā Tashīl al-Fawā'id* (ibn 'Aqīl al-Āmidī and all of his works), *Shudhūr ad-Dhahab*, *Qatr an-Nadā*, *Sharḥuhuma*, *Qawā'id al-I'rāb* (Jamāl ad-Dīn an-Nahwī).

8. [Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Kharibtāwī]: *Sharḥ al-Muattī*, *Hāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ ‘alā ‘t-Tawḍīḥ*, and all works of Muḥammad az-Zurqānī.
9. [Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd al-‘Atṭār]: *Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn*, and all the works of Ismā’īl al-‘Ajlūnī.
10. [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim as-Saffārīnī]: *ad-Durrat al-Bahiyyah wa-Sharḥuhā Lawā’ih al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah*, and all of as-Saffārīnī’s works, and *Sharḥ as-Sā’id Li-Taṣrīf az-Zanjānī*.
11. [Murtadā az-Zabīdī]: *Tāj al-‘Arūs Min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, *Iḥyā as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyā’ Uḥūm ad-Dīn*, and all works of az-Zabīdī, *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh ‘alā ‘l-Abīd* and the works of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, and *‘Awārif al-Ma’ārif*.
12. [‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Wanā’ī]: *Lubb al-Uṣūl wa-Sharḥu Ghāyāt al-Wusūl*, *al-Qawā’id al-Kubrā*, and all the works of Izz ad-Dīn ibn ‘Abd as-Salām, and *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*.
13. [Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī]: *Hāshiyat al-Mullawī ‘alā Sharḥ al-Makūdī*, and all works of al-Mullawī, *‘Umdat al-Āḥkām* (‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī), *Shifā al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥaram*, *Mukhtaṣarātīhi as-Sab’ah*, *al-Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārikh al-Balad al-Amīn*, *Mukhtaṣarātīhi ath-Thalāthah* (Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī), *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi’iyah* (Tāj ad-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī).
14. [‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Aydarūs]: *al-Fawā’ikh al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimāt al-Ajrūmiyyah*, *Sharḥ al-Qaṭr an-Nadā* (‘Abd Allāh al-Fākihī al-Makkī), *Iḥyā’ Uḥūm ad-Dīn*, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (al-Ghazālī and all of his works).
15. [‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī]: *ash-Shāfi’iyah*, *al-Qaṣīdah ar-Rā’iyah* (Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shāfi’ī), *Hāshiyah Sharḥ al-Fākihī ‘Alā al-Qaṭr* (Yāsīn al-Himṣī).
16. [Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdal az-Zabīdī]: *al-Ḥikam*, *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāt at-Tadbīr* (Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh as-Skandarī).
17. [Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Khālidī al-Jawhārī]: *Tabaqāt as-Ṣūfiyyah* (ash-Sha’rānī).

## Appendix 3

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List of books related to mysticism recorded in his *Sayr al-Sālikīn* recommended for three different levels of *sālikīn* (travellers on the mystical path).<sup>1</sup>

1. Books recommended for *al-mubtadī* (the novice):

Most of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's books, such as:

1. *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah.*
2. *Minhāj al-Ābidīn.*
3. *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn.*
4. *Mukhtaṣar Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn.*
5. *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn.*
6. Abū Ṭālib al-Makki's *Qūṭ al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalat al-Mahbūb.*
7. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's *ar-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah.*
8. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī's *al-Ghunyah li-Ṭālibī Tariq al-Ḥaqqa 'Azza Wajalla.*
9. Shihāb ad-Dīn 'Umar as-Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif.*
10. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabīb as-Suhrawardī's *Ādāb al-Murīdīn.*
11. Ibn 'Āṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī's *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ.*
12. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *al-Futūḥat al-Ilāhiyyah.*

Nine books by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Shā'rānī:

13. *Madārij as-Sālikīn [ilā Rusūm Tariqat al-Muttaqīn].*
14. *Sharḥ Waṣīyyat Sidī ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī.*
15. *Risālat al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Ma'rifat Qawā'id as-Šūfiyyah fī Bayān Ādāb al-'Ubūdiyyah.*
16. *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah fī Bayān 'Ahd al-Muhammadiyyah.*
17. *Al-Bahr al-Mawrūd fī al-Mawāthiq wa 'l-Uhūd.*
18. *Tanbīh al-Mughtarrīn.*
19. *Akhlāq al-Matbūliyyah.*
20. *Al-Fulk al-Mashhūn fī Bayān at-Taṣawwuf wa-huwa mā 'alayhi al-'Ulamā' al-Āmilūn.*

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21. *Al-Matn al-Kabīr wa 's-Şaghîr.*
22. Qāsim b. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Khānī al-Ḥalabī's *as-Sayr wa 's-Sulūk ilā Malik al-Muhīk*.
23. Muḥammad b. 'Umar's *Tartīb Sulūk al-Muhīk*.
24. 'Alī al-Marṣafī's *Manhaj as-Sālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik; Mukhtaṣar ar-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah*.<sup>2</sup>
25. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's *as-Simṭ al-Majīd [fī Sha'n al-Bay'ah wa 'dh-Dhikr wa-Talqīnihi wa-Salāsil Aḥl 'l-Tawḥīd]*.
26. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Īqāz al-Qawābil li- 't-Taqarrub bi 'n-Nawāfil*.  
Three books by Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh al-'Aydarūs:
  27. *Ad-Durr ath-Thamīn fī Bayān al-Muhīm min 'Ilm ad-Dīn.*
  28. *Al-Zahr al-Bāsim.*
  29. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsīyyah.*
- Two books by Tāj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī al-Hindī al-Makkī:
  30. *Jāmi' al-Afrād.*
  31. *Mawā'iz an-Nafs.*
- Five books by Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Haddād:
  32. *An-Naṣā'iḥ ad-Dīniyyah wa 'l-Waṣāyā al-Imāniyyah.*
  33. *Iḥāf as-Sā'il.*
  34. *Al-Fuyūl al-'Ilmiyyah wa 'l-Uṣūl al-Ḥikamiyyah.*
  35. *Risālat al-Mu'āwanah wa 'l-Muẓāharah wa 'l-Mu'āzarah li 'r-Rāghibīn min 'l-Mu'minīn fī Ṭariq al-Ākhirah.*
  36. *Ad-Da'wat at-Tāmmah wa 't-Tadhkīrat al-'Āmmah.*
- Six books by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī:
  37. *Al-Waṣīyyat al-Jaliyyah li 's-Sālikīn li-Ṭariqat al-Khalwatiyyah.*
  38. *Hadīyyat al-Aḥbāb fī-mā li 'l-Khalwah min 'sh-Shurūṭ wa 'l-Ādāb.*
  39. *Risālat as-Šuhbah allatī Bayyana fīhā al-Khidmah wa 'l-Maḥabbah.*
  40. *Bulūgh al-Marām fī Khalwat Aḥl ash-Shām.*
  41. *Nazm al-Qilādah fī Kayfiyyat Ijlās al-Murīd 'alā 's-Sajjādah.*

42. *Al-Manhal al-'Adhb fī Dhikr aṣ-Ṣalawāt wa 't-Tariq wa 'l-Awrād.*

Six books by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān:

43. *An-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Ṭariq al-Muḥammadiyyah.*  
44. *'Urwān al-Jalwah fī Sha'n al-Khalwah.*  
45. *Igāthat al-Lahfān.*  
46. *Kashf Asrār fī-mā Yata'allaq bi-hi Ism al-Qahhār.*  
47. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī 't-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūhiyyah li 'l-Hadrat al-Muḥammadiyyah.*  
48. *An-Naṣīḥat al-'Alawiyyah li 's-Sādat al-Ahdaliyyah.*

Two books by Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madānī:

49. *As-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Wājedāniyyah.*  
50. *Al-Futūḥāt as-Sammāniyyah fī Ṭariq al-Qādiriyyah.*  
51. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghānī's *Tanbīh al-Ḥaqqa fī Ḥayyiz al-Farq wa-Faṣl al-Muta'ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī* commentary of al-Ḥaddād's poem "ilzam bāb Rabbik."
52. 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī's *'Umdat al-Muhtājīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn.*

Three books by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself:

53. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn.*  
54. *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādat Rabb al-'Ālamīn.*  
55. *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā.*
2. Books recommended for *al-mutawassīt* (the intermediate):

Three works by Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī:

56. *At-Tanwīr fī Isqāt at-Tadbīr.*  
57. *Lajā'iṣ al-Minan.*  
58. *al-Ḥikam.*  
59. Ibn 'Abbād's commentary on *al-Ḥikam* entitled [*Ghayth al-Mawāhib al-'Aliyyah fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*].  
60. Aḥmad al-Marzūqī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam.*

61. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Allān al-Bakrī an-Naqshabandī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
62. Aḥmad al-Qushāšī's commentary on *al-Ḥikam*.
63. Abū Madyan's *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*.
64. Ibn 'Allān an-Naqshabandī's commentary on Abū Madyan's *al-Ḥikam*.
65. Raslān ad-Dimashqī's [*Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*].<sup>3</sup>
66. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Fatḥ ar-Rahmān* a commentary on *Risālat al-Walī Raslān*.
67. Its commentary by Ibn 'Allān.
68. Its commentary by 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī entitled [*Khamrat al-Ḥān wa-Rannat al-Ālhān Sharḥ Risālat ash-Shaykh Raslān*].
69. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*.
70. 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydarūs's *al-Kibrīt al-Āḥmar wa 'l-Iksīr al-Akbar*.
71. 'Abd Allāh as-Suhrawardī's *al-Masābir*.

Two works by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī:

72. *Al-Jawāhir wa 'l-Yawāqūt*.
73. *Al-Jawāhir wa 'd-Durar*.
74. Muḥammad Abū al-Mawāhib ash-Shādhili's *Risālat Qawānīn Ḥikam al-Ishrāq ilā 's-Šūfiyyah bi-Jamī' al-Āfāq*.
75. Ibn 'Allān an-Naqshabandī's *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Bint al-Mīlaq*.
76. Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Saqqāf's *Mī'rāj al-Arwāḥ fī 'l-Manhaj al-Wuḍḍāh*.
77. Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*.
78. Husayn b. 'Abd Allāh Bā-Fadl's *al-Fuṣūl at-Taḥīyyah* [sic] wa 'n-Nafāḥāt ar-Rūḥāniyyah.
79. 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's *Miftāḥ al-Ma'iyyah fī 'l-Tarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*, a commentary on Taj ad-Dīn an-Naqshabandī's epistle.
80. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *ad-Dhiyā' ash-Shamsī 'alā 'l-Fatḥ al-Qudsī*.
81. Muḥammad as-Sammān's *Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāt*.

Four books by Ṣiddīq al-Madānī:

82. *Murshid aṭ-Tullāb ilā Suhūk Ṭarīq al-Āḥbāb.*
83. *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahhābiyyah 'an Jamāl al-'Ayniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's *al-Qaṣīdat al-'Ayniyyah*.
84. Commentary on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's *tawḥīd al-af'āl wa-tawḥīd al-asmā' wa-tawḥīd as-sifāt wa-tawḥīd adh-dhāt*.
85. Commentary on as-Sammān's epistle on *tawassul*.
86. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Qāsim, better known as al-'Ālim aṣ-Šūfi al-Hindī al-Madānī's *Fath ar-Rahmān Sharḥ Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāt*.

3. Books recommended for *al-muntaḥī* (the adepts):

Three books by Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī:

87. *Mawāqi' an-Nujūm [wa-Maṭāli' Ahillat al-Asrār wa 'l-'Ulūm]*.
88. *Al-Funūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*.
89. *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
90. Munlā 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāmī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
91. 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
92. 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Mahāyimī (or al-Mahā'imī) al-Hindī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.
93. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifa al-Awāhir wa 'l-Awā'il*.

Three works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī:

94. *al-Maqnū bi-hi 'alā Ghayr Ahlih*.
95. *Mishkāt al-Anwār*.
96. *Al-Maqṣad al-Asnā fī Ma'nā Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusnā*.  
\*. Several chapters on discussion of 'ilm al-ḥaqīqah in *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*: namely *kitāb aṣ-ṣabr*, *kitāb ash-shukr*, *kitāb al-maḥabbah*, *kitāb at-tawḥīd* and the beginning of *kitāb at-tawakkul*.<sup>3</sup>
97. Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuhfah al-Mursalah ilā 'n-Nabi SAW*.
98. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Iḥāf adh-Dhakī Sharḥ at-Tuhfah al-Mursalah*.

Two works by 'Abd al-Ghanī's an-Nābulusī:

99. *Nukhbāt al-Mas'alah Sharḥ at-Tuhfah al-Mursalah.*
100. *Īdāh al-Maqṣūd min Ma'nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd.*

Two works by 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Shā'rānī:

101. *Lawāqīḥ al-Anwār al-Qudsīyyah Mukhtaṣar al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah.*
102. *Kashf al-Ḥijāb wa 'r-Rān 'an Wajh As'īlat al-Jān.*
103. Al-Qūnawī's *al-Futūḥāt.*
104. Aḥmad ash-Shinnāwī's *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq.*
105. 'Alī al-Mahāyimī's *Irādat ad-Daqā'iq fī Sharḥ Mir'āt al-Ḥaqā'iq.*  
\*. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī's *Sharḥ Ḥikam Ibn 'Atā' Allāh.<sup>5</sup>*
106. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fī Ma'rīfat aṣ-Ṣādir al-Awwal wa-Aḥdāth al-'Ālam bi 'l-Ikhtiyār.*

Two works by Sham ad-Dīn b. 'Abd Allāh as-Sumatrānī:

107. *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq.*
108. *Tanbīh aṭ-Ṭullāb fī Ma'rīfat al-Malik al-Wahhāb.*
109. 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī's *Ta'yid al-Bayān Ḥāshiyat Īdāh al-Bayān fī Taḥqīq Masā'il al-A'yān.*
110. 'Abd aṣ-Šamad al-Falimbānī's *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Ālamīn.*

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 176-83.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly written as *Minhāj Masālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik.*

<sup>3</sup> Listed as *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*. However, from the description of its commentary by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, it is clear this is Raslān ad-Dimashqī's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*.

<sup>4</sup> Except for these chapters, the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* is generally suitable for the mubtadī as mentioned by al-Falimbānī earlier.

<sup>5</sup> This text is also recommended earlier by al-Falimbānī for *mutawassīt*.